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STUDIA SCENICA.

PART I. SECTION I.—INTRODUCTORY STUDY ON THE
TEXT OF THE GREEK DRAMAS. THE TEXT
OF SOPHOCLES' TRACHINIAE, 1-300.

BY

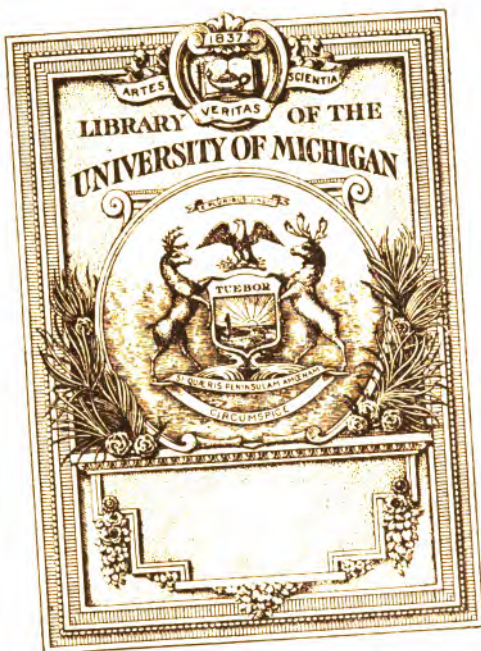
DAVID S. MARGOLIOUTH,

FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

London.

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1883.



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PART I. SECTION I.—INTRODUCTORY STUDY ON THE
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THE writer of the following pages is contemplating a New Edition of the *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, a field thrown open by the lamented death of W. DINDORF in the present year. He hopes to show that there is room for a new Recension of SOPHOCLES, even after the epoch-making labours of NAUCK and BLAYDES; and that the same is the case with AESCHYLUS will not be doubted by those who have seen the results of three hundred years' study summarized in KIRCHHOFF'S indispensable edition. The present Monograph will serve as a specimen of the method which the Editor intends to employ, and will enable Scholars to judge whether he possesses any of the qualifications necessary for his task.

NEW COLLEGE, *October, 1883.*

STUDIA SCENICA.

PART I.—STUDIES ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES.

SECTION I.—INTRODUCTORY STUDY ON THE TEXT OF THE TRACHINIAE, 1-300.

§ I.—Passages Corrected.

1. λόγος μὲν ἔστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς.

Either ἀνθρώπων or φανείς is without construction. Hense changes φανείς to σαφής, Fröhlich to σοφῶν; both of which are otiose and inappropriate; φανείς besides bears every mark of genuineness. On the other hand, ἀνθρώπων is hardly tolerable with βροτῶν in the same place in the following line. Mr. Blaydes cites a various reading ἀνθρώποις from Anecd. Oxon. 4, 328, 31. ἀνθρώποις φανείς, 'originated by men,' would simplify the construction. But ἀνθρώπῳ φανείς, 'originated by a man,' would be nearer the MS., and justify the scholiast's accusation of anachronism. The point of ἀνθρώπῳ is (a) 'originated by one who was a man himself;' (b) 'by a man and not by a god;' so that the speaker has a right to contradict it. The confusion of φ and ων is frequent.

Aesch. Ag. 1299,

KA. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυσις ὧ φίλοι χρόνου πλέω.

XO. ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τῷ χρόνῳ πρεσβεύεται.

It is useless attempting to make any sense of the lines in this condition; we have to read

KA. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυσις, ὧ φίλοι· χρόνοι πλέω.

XO. ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τῶν χρόνων πρεσβεύεται.

And a similar confusion is, I imagine, the origin of the error in Antig. 23.

Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν, ὡς λέγουσι, σὺν δίκη
χρησθεὶς δικαίᾳ καὶ νόμῳ κατὰ χθονός
ἐκρυψε τοῖς ἐνερθεν ἔντιμον νεκροῖς.

which should be written

Ἔτεοκλέα μὲν, ὡς λέγουσι, σὺν δίκη
 χρῆσθαι δικαίων καὶ νόμῳ, κατὰ χθονὸς
 ἔκρυψε τοῖς ἔνερθεν ἔντιμον νεκροῖς,*

where the *systematic* corruption shows us what confidence we are to place in the tradition of a line like, e.g., O. T. 608, or O. T. 1136. This last runs as follows:—

εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι
 κάτοιδεν ἦμος τὸν Κιθαιρῶνος τόπον
 ὁ μὲν διπλοῖσι ποιμνίοις ἐγὼ δ' ἐνί
 ἐπλησίαζον τῷδε τάνδρῃ τρεῖς ὄλους κ.τ.λ.

τῷδε τάνδρῃ has no possible construction: a slight change, however, clears up the difficulty. 'Scripsit Sophocles'

κάτοιδεν ἦμος τῷ Κιθαιρῶνος τόπῳ,
 ὁ μὲν διπλοῖσι ποιμνίοις ἐγὼ δ' ἐνί,
 ἐπλησίαζον τῷδε τάνδρε τρεῖς ὄλους κ.τ.λ.

(See Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society, 1883.)

7. ἦτις πατρὸς μὲν ἐν δόμοισιν Οἰνέως
 ναίουσ' ἐν Πλευρῶνι νυμφείων ὄτλον
 ἄλγιστον ἔσχον, εἴ τις Αἰτωλὶς γυνή.

For ναίουσ(α) Fernstedt suggested ναίοντος: which is more elegant than Apitz's ναίουσιν, if indeed that would be possible Greek. ἐν is harsh after ἐν δόμοισιν Οἰνέως. Probably we should write

ναίονσα πρὸς Πλευρῶνι.

πρὸς c. dat. is used by Sophocles very nearly as an equivalent of ἐν. O. C. 1047, πρὸς Πυθίαις ἢ λαμπάσιν ἀκταῖς. Ant. 825, Σιπύλῳ πρὸς ἄκρῳ. Aj. 95, ἔβαψας ἔγχος εὖ πρὸς Ἀργείων στρατῷ. Fr. 371, ταῦτα πολλοὶ πρὸς μέσῃ Τραχινίων ἀγορᾷ συνεξήκουον. Πρὸς (i.e., πατρὸς) of the previous line caused the omission.

* A very similar mistake occurs in Aesch. Ag. 1377.

ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι
 νίκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν.

We should read

ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι
 Δίκης παλαίην ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν.

27. λέχος γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ κριτὸν

συστᾶσ' αἰεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω.

συστᾶσ', as Dr. Nauck remarks, is obviously wrong. *ζυγείσα*, which he writes, seems to me harsh. We should read, I think,

λέχος γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ κριτὸν

σπεύσας' αἰεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω.

This would illustrate and explain O. T. 2, *τινας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θαΐζετε*;

47. τοιαύτην ἐμοὶ

δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε, τὴν ἐγὼ θαμὰ

θεοῖς ἀρῶμαι πημονῆς ἄτερ λαβεῖν.

The use of this δέλτος I imagine to have been similar to that of *the letter* in Wilkie Collins' 'Woman in White'; *i.e.*, if Heracles came safely home *he was to take it back*; but if he were away beyond a certain time Deanira was to know that he was dead, and find therein directions how to act. The subject of λαβεῖν must therefore be Heracles; 'which I pray to heaven *that he may get safely back.*' Compare δούναι = ἀποδοῦναι, Philoct. 668. However, I do not believe the subject could have been omitted; σφέ must be inserted somewhere; and the best place will be before ἐγώ. (τὴν σφ' ἐγὼ θαμὰ κ.τ.λ.) For the position compare 463, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἐγώ.

84. ἡνίκ' ἢ σεσώσμεθα

(ἢ πίπτομεν σοῦ πατρὸς ἐξολωλότος)

κείνου βίον σώσαντος ἢ οἰχόμεσθ' ἅμα.

Whether these lines are genuine or not, they probably ran originally

ἡνίκ' ἢ σεσώσμεθα

(οἱ πίπτομεν σοῦ πατρὸς ἐξολωλότος)

κείνου βίον σώσαντος, ἢ οἰχόμεσθ' ἅμα.

The diction of l. 85 (for πίπτομεν v. Ellendt, and ἐξολωλότος, compare O. T. 257) is extremely Sophoclean, and is therefore probably genuine. For the parenthesis compare O. T. 495, as explained below, and Thucyd. 3, 57, ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς προκεχωρήκαμεν οἵτινες Μήδων τε κρατησάντων ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ.

100.

"Ἄλιον "Ἄλιον αὐτῷ

τοῦτο καρῦξαι τὸν Ἀλκμήνας πόθι μοὶ πόθι μοι
ναίει ποτ' ὦ λαμπρᾷ στεροπᾷ φλεγέθων,
ἡ ποντίας αὐλῶνας, ἡ δισσαῖσιν ἀπείροις κλιθεῖς.

Mr. Blaydes has corrected παῖδα καρῦξαι τὸν Ἀλκμήνας. The same scholar has pointed out that ἡ ποντίας αὐλῶνας κ.τ.λ. is ungrammatical, as it should be *πότερον, εἴ, or εἴτε*. We should, I think, read ἡ ποντίας αὐλῶνος κ.τ.λ.: the genitive being governed by πόθι, and corresponding to the prepositional phrase, ἡ δισσαῖσιν ἀπείροις κλιθεῖς, or *in* the two continents. *ποντία αὐλῶν* = 'the sea' is clear (compare αὐλῶν *Μαιώτικος*), whereas the plural is not.

106. οὐποτ' εὐνάξειν ἀδακρύτων βλεφάρων πόθον.

Rather *πόνον*. πόθον seems a reminiscence of *ποθουμένα supra*.

115. πολλὰ γὰρ ὥστ' ἀκάμαντος

ἡ νότου ἡ Βορέα τις

κύματ' ἐν εὐρεί πόντῳ

βάντ' ἐπιόντα τ' ἴδοι,

οὕτω δὲ τὸν Καδμογενῇ τρέφει τόδ' (or τὸ δ') αὔξει
βιότου

πολύπονον ὥσπερ πέλαγος Κρήσιον.

The construction is (ὥσπερ) πέλαγος Κρήσιον βιότου, πολύπονον ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ κύματα κ.τ.λ., *i.e.*, containing troubles many as are the waves, etc. Hence only one verb is necessary *sc.* τρέφει. The unintelligible words τόδ' αὔξει seem to me to be a gloss on the word, distinguishing τρέφειν here = αὔξειν (see the parallels in Blaydes' note) from τρέφειν above in *δείμα τρέφουσιν ὁδοῦ*.*

The gloss τόδ' αὔξει (*i.e.*, τόδε δὲ αὔξει) has supplanted some substantive belonging to τὸν Καδμογενῇ, such as τόκον (τοῦ) βιότου.

121. ὦν ἐπιμεμφομένης ἀδεία μὲν ἀντία δ' οἶσω.

* Cf. Oberdick, Pref. to Aesch. Suppl. Similarly in O. T. 473, the words ὡς ταῦρος are a gloss explaining the metaphor.

The MS. *ἐπιμεμφομένης* should not, I think, be altered; *ὧν* refers to the chequered life of Heracles: and should be rendered *de quibus querenti sc. tibi*.*

ἀδεία is of course corrupt; we should read

παλαιὰ μὲν, ἀντία δ' οἶσω.

I shall be giving *stale* consolation, still I *will* give it.†

144. τὸ γὰρ νεάζον ἐν τοιοῖσδε βόσκεται
χώροις αὐτοῦ καὶ νιν οὐ θάλλπος θεοῦ,
οὐδ' ὄμβρος οὐδὲ κυμάτων οὐδὲν κλονεῖ.

αὐτοῦ is meaningless. Read

*ἐν τοιοῖσδε βόσκεται
χώροις βίотου.*

τοιοῖσδε sc. ἐν οἷς ἄπειρόν ἐστι (142). The 'paths' and 'walks' of life are familiar phrases in the literatures of many nations.

The corruption of *ν* into *β* is not unparalleled in our MS. In O. T. 227, we read

*καὶ μὲν φοβεῖται τοῦ πίκλημ' ἐπεξελών
αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ,—πέισεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν
ἀστεργές οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν ἀσφαλῆς.*

ἐπεξελών is an obvious error for *ἐπεξιών*, the proper word in this case. Plato Ll. 762, *ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος καὶ πυθόμενος καὶ μὴ ἐπεξιών*, p. 775, *ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπεξίτω τῇ οἴκῃ*, especially in the murder cases, pp. 866 sqq.

*τοῦ πίκλημ' ἐπεξιών
αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ*

is good and natural Greek for 'pursuing the charge against himself.'

* Dr. Nauck has followed Hense in inverting strophe and anti-strophe; which is necessary if the MS. reading be altered to *ἐπιμεμφομένα σ'*, but awkward, as 131, *μένει γὰρ οὐτ' αἰόλα νύξ κ.τ.λ.* follows naturally on 129, *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πῆμα καὶ χαρά κ.τ.λ.*

† For the *staleness* of the consolation cf. Job v. 7, Van Waenen on Abu Taleb i. 105 (Oxford 1806), Theocritus' *τάχ' αὔριον ἔσται ἄμεινον* c. interpr., and especially Schopenhauer, *Die Welt u. s. w.* book iv.

However, *φοβεῖται* is wrong also; for (1) a future is wanted; (2) Oedipus' first alternative must be *suppose the man obeys the proclamation*; very well (aposiopesis); for no harm shall be done him, etc. But suppose he does not, etc. Read therefore

κεί μὲν φανείται, τοῦτί κλημ' ἐπεξιών *
αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ.

150. ἦτοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἢ τέκνων φοβουμένη.
πρὸς, 'from,' can scarcely be right. Qy. πρὸ τάνδρως.

159. ἄμοι προσθεν οὐκ ἔτλη ποτέ,
πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξίων οὐπω φράσαι.

π. α. ἐξιών is condemned by Mr. Blaydes, who however only offers tentative corrections. Read

πόλλ' εἰς ἀγῶνας ἐξίων,

* The best instances which I have met of *ὑπεξαιρεῖν* in the active are (1) the well-known *ὄλβον δωμάτων ὑπεξελέων* in the Hippol., where it means 'having taken away, destroyed.' (2) Rhetor. ad Alexandrum, 1432, b 11, *προκατάληψις ἐστὶ δι' ἧς τὰ τε τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐπιτιμήματα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀντιλεγειν μελλόντων λόγους προκαταλαμβάνοντες ὑπεξαίρησομεν τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δυσχερείας*, i.e., 'take away,' 'remove.' (3) Luc. Toxaris, § 42, *τὸν φίλον ὑπεξελεῖν πειρώμενος τοῦ δῆγματος*, i.e., 'trying to remove him out of the lion's reach.' *ὑπεξελέων τοῦτί κλημα* could therefore only mean 'having removed (cancelled) the accusation': and this is the meaning of the inverted phrase *αἰτίας ὑπεξελεῖν* in Aphthonius ap. Walz. I., p. 84, if genuine. The writer is arguing against tyrants. 'Other men, though they commit the worst crimes, can *τὴν γνώμην ἐξελεῖσθαι τῆς πράξεως*. Only the tyrant cannot say he did not intend. For had he entered on his enterprise against his will, we might absolve him of the intention. *νῦν δὲ τοῦ δίκαιον αἰτίας ὑπεξελεῖν τὸν πρὸ τῶν ἔργων τῇ γνώμῃ γεόμενον*.' So the excellent New College MS. written by Triclinius has it; but it seems to me that the correction *ὑπεξελεῖν* is certain. In any case the meaning of *τοῦτί κλημ' ὑπεξελεῖν* will be the reverse of what is wanted, though I will not deny that had the Athenian audience had an hour to think over the 'passage,' they might have excogitated the interpretation given it by G. Wolff.

Having cited a Greek Rhetor, I will take the opportunity of correcting Cic. ad Att. I., 14 (Watson, ed. 2, p. 41), where in a list of rhetorical ornaments *καρποὶ* occurs. This should, I think, be emended *κοινοὶ τόποι*.

πολλά is extremely common in Sophocles for 'often.' Philoct. 1458. Trach. 1192, οἶδ' ὡς θνητὴν γε πολλά δὴ σταθεὶς ἄνω, 789. Cf. Ellendt.

164. χρόνον προτάξας ὡς τρίμηνον ἡνίκα
 χώρας ἀπείη κἀνιαύσιος βεβώς,
 τότε ἢ θανεῖν χρεὶ σφε τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ
 ἢ τοῦθ' ὑπεκδραμόντα τοῦ χρόνου τέλος
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη ζῆν ἀλυπτήτῳ βίῳ.

In 165 Dr. Nauck (with Wakefield) writes *τρίμηνος*: doubtless with justice. In 166 for τότε read ὅτ'.

ὅτ' ἢ θανεῖν χρεὶ σφε τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ

'since, he said, at that time he must either die,' etc. ὅτε= ἐπεὶ is common in Greek writers, especially in Sophocles, v. Ellendt.

In 167 ἢ τοῦθ' ὑπεκδραμόντα τοῦ χρόνου τέλος,

τοῦ χρόνου is plainly intolerable after τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ of 166, and is a slip of the pen on the part of the scribe, who wrote the word twice. τοῦθ' ὑπεκδραμόντα τέλος=escaping this consummation—τὸ τέλος being θάνατος, i.e., θανάτου τέλος. In all such cases restoration is difficult, but the use of the pious phrase σὺν θεῷ or σὺν θεοῖς in speaking of happy contingencies (Oed. Tyr. 146, ἢ γὰρ εὐτυχεῖς σὺν τῷ θεῷ φανούμεθ' ἢ πεπτωκότες, Aj. 779; Xenophon, Anab. 3. 1. 23, 5. 8. 19, 43, 6. 5. 23, 6. 6. 32, 7. 2. 34; Eur. Suppl. 360, Herm.) makes it probable that Sophocles wrote

ἢ τοῦθ' ὑπεκδραμόντα σὺν θεοῖς τέλος κ.τ.λ.

173. καὶ τῶνδε ναμέρτεια συμβαίνει χρόνου
 τοῦ νῦν παρόντος ὡς τελεσθῆναι χρεών.

The meaning of this clause should be: 'and this is the moment at which we are to ascertain *how* this oracle is to be fulfilled': we should therefore write

καὶ τῶνδε ναμέρτεια συμβαίνει χρόνου
 τοῦ νῦν παρόντος, πῶς τελεσθῆναι χρεών.*

* Cf. Porson ad Or. 742.

179.

ἐπεὶ καταστεφῇ
στείχονθ' ὁρῶ τιν' ἄνδρα πρὸς χαρὰν λόγων.

πρὸς χαρὰν λόγων does not, I think, admit of explanation ;
πρὸς χάριν seems feeble ; I believe we should restore

πρὸς χρείαν λόγων,

comparing O. T. 1174, ὡς πρὸς τί χρείας.

Similarly O. T. 724, ὦν γὰρ ἂν θεὸς χρείαν ἐρευνᾷ ῥαδίως
αὐτὸς φανεί should be rendered 'with what object the god
is searching' ; and in Antig. 30,

οἰωνοῖς γλυκὺν
θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς,

where εἰσορῶσι or πρὸς χάριν must be wrong, we should
probably write

οἰωνοῖς γλυκὺν
θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χρείαν βορᾶς.*

195.

κύκλῳ γάρ αὐτὸν Μηλιεὺς ἅπας λεὼς
κρίνει παραστᾶς.

Dr. Nauck thinks παραστᾶς intentional ; however, κύκλῳ

* Of course in the tradition of these poets (as in that of other
authors) *ει* and *ι*, *εν* and *υ*, are absolutely equivalent ; an interesting
instance is Aesch. Suppl. 875,

κατὰ Σαρπηδόνιον χῶμα πολύψαμμον ἀλα-
θεὺς εὐρείαις εἰν αὔραις.

Of the second line the metre should be — — — — —: so
that we have simply to restore

ἀλα | θεὺς Συρίασιν αὔραις.

The antistrophe is curiously corrupt, but not difficult to correct—

οἰοὶ οἰοὶ
λύμασις ὃ πρὸ γᾶς ὑλάσκει·
περίχαμπα βρνάζεις,
ὃς ἐρωτᾶς· ὃ μέγας
Νεῖλος ὑβρίζοντά σ' ἀποτρέψειεν αἰστον ὕβριν.

This should be restored—

οἰοὶ οἰοὶ
λύμας, εἰ σὺ κόρας Πελασγῶν
περίπεμπα βιάζεις· (Cf. Ag. 87)
ὃν ἔσω γᾶς ὃ μέγας Νεῖλος ὑβρίζοντ' ἀποτρέψ-
ειεν ἀνοιστον ὕβριν.

παραστάς is an oxymoron; and this figure is only used on very rare occasions, and for some special effect. We should almost certainly restore

κύκλω γὰρ αὐτὸν Μηλιεὺς ἅπας λεῶς
κρίνει περιστάς.

Compare Thucyd. 4. where *περιστάντας* is used of the persons who stood round and heard Demosthenes haranguing. Cf. Steph. Thes.

204. φωνήσατ' ὦ γυναῖκες αἱ τ' εἴσω στέγης
αἱ τ' ἐκτὸς αὐλῆς, ὡς ἄελπτον ὄμμ' ἐμοὶ
φήμης ἀνασχὸν τῆσδε νῦν καρπούμεθα.

These lines are harsh and wordy in the extreme. Read

ὡς ἄελπτον ὄμμ' ἐμοὶ
φήμης ἀνασχὸν τῆσδε, νιν καρπούμεθα.

The *enjoyment* was to be represented by the clamour.

205. ἀνολολυξάτω δόμοις
ἐφεστίοις ἀλαλαγαῖς
ὁ μελλόννυμφος· ἐν δὲ κοινὸς ἀρσένων
ἴτω κλαγγὰ τὸν εὐφάρετραν
Ἀπόλλωνα προστάταν.

In hymns of this kind it is usual for the *youths* (ἦθεοι) to sing to Apollo; while the *maidens* praise Diana. *Dianam tenerae dicite virgines, intonsum pueri dicite Apollinem.* (Compare the *carmen saeculare* throughout.) This then will be the case in the present ode. Vv. 205-209 are an exhortation to the *youths*; 210-215 to the *maidens*. There is therefore nothing to alter in the first line, ἀνολολυξάτω δόμοις ὁ μελλόννυμφος,* 'In each house let the youth shout aloud': ὁ μελλόννυμφος = ὁ ἦθεος (v. Ruhnken, Timaeus ad v.) the 'unmarried'; compare μελλόποσις, fr. inc. 910.† The word

* δόμοις cannot be altered to δόμος, as the *synaphea* requires a long syllable; and ὁ cannot be altered to ᾧ (Erfurdt approved by Nauck), as choric iambs should be *pure*, especially in a monode.

† μελλόποσιν τὸν ἄνδρα ὠνόμασε Pollux. Did Pollux' memory deceive him? May not this be an allusion to the place with which we are dealing?

need not imply even betrothal; but even if it does, no one will argue from the clumsy mythological makeshift, Eur. Phoen. 945, that the betrothed were no longer called ἦθεοι.

ἐφεστίους ἀλαλαγαῖς. This is gibberish, as the variations in the MSS. (ἀλαλαγαῖς, ἀλαλαῖς, ἀλλалаγαῖς) partly acknowledge. Happily, however, the sort of phrase required is easily seen; this line should contain *the object of the thanksgiving* (Iph. A. 1468, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπευφημήσατε παιᾶνα τῇμῃ συμφορᾷ: Orest. 1335, ἐπ' ἀξίοισι τᾶρ' ἀνευφημεῖ δόμος). Read therefore

ἐπ' αἰσίοις συναλλαγαῖς.

συναλλαγαῖ is synonymous with συμφοραῖ. Cf. O. C. 410. The history of the corruption is, I think, as follows. ἐπ' εἰσίοις was written for ἐπ' αἰσίοις: ἐφεστίοις was then an improvement.* These double layers of corruption are not always easy to detect, but in the nature of things they are only too common.† One part of a line is reduced to meaninglessness; and then the scribe deals with the rest according to his own sweet will. A better illustration of this could scarcely be found than Aesch. Ag. 413—

πάρεστι σίγ' ἄτιμος ἀλλ' ἀλοίδορος
ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν.

That the second of these is corrupt no one can fail to see; but what did Aeschylus write? The next line tells us; πόθω δ' ὑπερποντίας φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν; i.e., such is Menelaus' affection that he still thinks she is there—

ἄπιστος ἐμφανῶν ἰδεῖν,

disbelieving facts which stared him in the face.‡

* Compare καθήγγισαν, Antig. 1081, as corrected *infra*.

† Compare Cobet N. L. praef.; A. Palmer, Ovid's Heroides, pref.

‡ No one is likely to object to this correction that the antistrophe has πένθεια τλησικάρδιος: for (1) πένθεια is a wholly impossible word; (2) these choric iambics should be pure; (3) πένθεια τλησικάρδιος gives no meaning; and τηξικάρδιος is improbable since ξ has the faculty of self-preservation more strongly developed than any other letter. Scarcely a line of the masterpiece of Greek tragedy is free from the disease; even in the transcendently brilliant passage 970 sqq. the editions write σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός, where it *must* be ὑπερτείνουσα. *Vide infra*.

The law of purity in choric iambics and trochaics is not, of course,

Some misfortune corrupts ἐμφανῶν to ἀφεμένων, not unnaturally, as φ has a curious tendency to transposition. ἄπιστος loses its construction, and the scribe writes poetry after his own fashion.

215 sq. αἰέρομ' οὐδ' ἀπώσομαι
 τὸν αὐλὸν, ὃ τύραννε τᾶς ἐμᾶς φρενός.
 ἰδοὺ μ' ἀναταράσσει
 εὐοὶ μ' ὁ κισσὸς ἄρτι βακχίαν
 ὑποστρέφων ἄμιλλαν.

215 should be written

ἄειρέ μ'. οὐκ ἀπώσομαι.

Corruption of οὐκ into οὐδέ is only too common in the tragic tradition:* I presume, because the correctors thought that no one could deny them the right τοῦ νεανιεύεσθαι in such trivial matters.

In l. 217, for ἰδοὺ μ' ἀναταράσσει, which is unmetrical, read

ἰδοὺ μ' ἄνω ταράσσει

as Soph. fr. 607, θεῶν ἄνω ψυχὰς ταράσσει teaches us.†

without exceptions; they are, however, very rare in Aeschylus, and Sophocles does not often break it *in the same places* in both strophe and antistrophe. In Aeschylus, lines of the form — — — — — are, I believe, invariably pure. This shows us that Ag. 984, ψαμμίας ἀκάτας παρηβήσεν, is to be corrected as follows

χρόνος δ' ἐπεὶ πρυμνησίῳ σὺν ἐμβόλοις
 ψαμμίσις ἀκμά παρή | βήσεν εὖθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον κ.τ.λ.,

'it began when the vigour of the cables had passed away together with that of the sand-buried cutwaters,' i.e., the time at which Agamemnon said δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται. *This was the time when* ὑπ' Ἴλιον ὤρτο ναυβάτας στρατός; cf. Il. B, and Thucyd. bk. 1. The reason why this should have been the time *at which the presentiment began* must be reserved for a study dealing specially with the Agamemnon.

* Cf. *infra* on Oed. Col. 692.

† Sophocles is not unfrequently his own best corrector; O. T. 740,

τὸν δὲ Λάϊον φύσιν
 τίν' εἶχε φράζε, τίνα δ' ἀκμήν ἤβης ἔχων

is acknowledged by all sound criticism to be corrupt; the only meaning the lines could have is 'tell me what he looked like *then*, and

In the last line, for ὑποστρέφων ἄμιλλαν, we have to read προσφέρων ἄμιλλαν. The verbs στρέφειν, τρέφειν, and φέρειν are perpetually confused; and Dr. Nauck has restored the right word in many places. Cf. O. T. 93, and Hermann's perverse note on Trach. 107. A very similar error is that which gives so much trouble in Aesch. Ag. 100;

τότε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ'
ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον
τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα,

which should be written

ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον
τὴν θυμοφόρον φρένα λυπεῖν.

I will now give the above lines of the Trachiniae together in their restored state:

ἄειρέ μ', οὐκ ἀπώσομαι
τὸν αὐλὸν ᾧ τύραννε τᾶς ἐμᾶς φρενός.
ἰδοὺ μ' ἄνω ταράτσει
εὐοὶ μ' ὁ κισσὸς ἄρτι βακχίαν
προσφέρων ἄμιλλαν.

226. ὁρῶ φίλαι γυναῖκες οὐδέ μ' ὄμματος
φρουρὰ παρῆλθε τόνδε μὴ λεύσσειν στόλον.

We should read,

οὐδέ μ' ὄμματος
φθορὰ παρῆλθε τόνδε μὴ λεύσσειν στόλον.

The letter ρ, owing to the ligature-writing, is the cause and victim of a vast variety of corruptions. In the ms. of Aeschylus it is frequently confused with σ. So in Suppl. 1001

καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις
καλωρα κωλύουσιν ὥς μένειν ἐρῶ

ρ is written twice for σ; read

καλῶς ἂ κωλύουσιν ὥς μένειν ἔσω;

what he looked like at the prime of life'—a thought quite foreign to the passage. But ἦβη is found to be used = βίος, fr. 705, ὕβρις δέ τοι οὐπώποθ' ἦβης ἐς τὸ σῶφρον ἔκετο; so that we have no difficulty in correcting

τίνα δ' ἀκμὴν ἦβης ἐτῶν.

i.e., the ripe * fruit is advertised by Aphrodite; which men do well to keep safely locked up.

The error is the same in the much-disputed Aesch. Ag. 1170—

ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν
ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ,

where the poet probably wrote

ἐμοὶ δὲ θεσμῶν οὓς τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ.

The θεσμοί are the emblems or insignia of her profession: the σκήπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρη στέφη which, 1264, she casts off with curses.

ρ and ν are sometimes confused; Aesch. Ag. 305,

ᾧτρυνε θεσμὸν μὴ χαρίζεσθαι πυρός

should be corrected

ᾧτρυνε θεσμὸν μηχανήσασθαι πυρός.

A scribe wrote μὴ χαρίσασθαι: and the next mended matters with μὴ χαρίζεσθαι. μηχανήσασθαι 'to produce' is a favourite word in tragedy; it should be restored in Aesch. Suppl. 266,

ἃ δὴ παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν
χρανθεῖς' ἀνῆκε γαῖα μηνιαιακή
δρακονθόμιλον δυσμενῇ συνουσίαν

read μηχανωμένη.

ργ and χ are confused in O. T. 709,

καὶ μάθ' οὐνεκ' ἐστὶ σοι
βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικῆς ἔχον τέχνης.

This should be corrected

καὶ μάθ' οὐνεκ' ἐστὶ σοι
βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικῆς ἔργον τέχνης,

that is, 'that there is no use to mankind in the prophetic art,' βρότειον being preferred by the poet to βροτοῖσιν owing to σοί which preceded.

* With this expression, which has been doubted, compare in the Aethiopic Book of Baruch (Dillmann, Chrestom. Aethiop. p. 2 etc.), the figs which were *dripping their honey*, i.e., were ripe and fresh.

ρ and λ are confused in Aj. 775, καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' οὐ ποτ' ἐκρήξει μάχην, where Sophocles wrote

ἄνασσα τοῖς ἄλλοισιν Ἀργείοις πέλας
ἴστω καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' οὐ ποτ' ἐκλήξει μάχην

i.e., I shall never stop fighting; cf. *supra*, ἡνίκ' ὀτρύνουσά νιν ἠδ' αὖτ' ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φοινίαν τρέπειν, Ellendt.² s. v. ἐκλήγειν.

In Antig. 608 ἀγήρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ δυνάστας
κατέχεις Ὀλύμπου
μαρμαρόεσσαν αἴγλαν,

where we should plainly read ἀγήρῳ δὲ θρόνῳ, the ρ is perhaps innocent.*

235 is not quite accurately punctuated in any of the editions; it should be

ποῦ ; γῆς πατρώας εἶτε βαρβάρου, λέγε.

243. αὐται δέ, πρὸς θεῶν, τοῦ ποτ' εἰς καὶ τίνες ;
οἰκτραὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ξυμφοραὶ κλέπτουσί με.

οἰκτραί is corrupt as Mr. Blaydes shows; his corrections, however, are only tentative; read

κόραι γὰρ, εἰ μὴ ξυμφοραὶ κλέπτουσί με,

i.e., they are virgins. Cf. 308.

The first letters of words are perhaps more subject to corruption than the rest. In Antig. 351 we read

λασιανύχενά θ'
ἵππον ἄξεται ἀμφίλοφον ξυγόν, οὔρειόν τ' ἀκμῆτα
ταῦρον.

ἄξεται is otherwise read ἔξεται. Dindorf has admirably corrected ἀέξεται; he has, however, left the rest. Read

ἵππον ἀέξεται ἀμφιπόλων ξυγόν, οὔρειόν τ' ἀκμῆτα
ταῦρον,

'he rears him a yoke of servants in the horse and the bull.'

* The phrase ἡ μνήμη τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρων ποιῇ occurs twice in Philostratus. I can remember no other instance in which the adj. and subst. are combined.

Similarly in O. C. 680 we have the strange phrase

ἴν' ὁ βακχιώτας
ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβατεύει
θείαις ἀμφιπολῶν τιθήναις.

Who are Dionysus' *nurses*? And why does he wait on them, instead of they on him? The corruption is almost amusing;

ἴν' ὁ βακχιώ-
τας ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβατεύει
[θείαις] ἀμφιπολῶν Ἀθήνας.*

In O. T. 702 we read, 'pray tell me what you are so angry about':

* If any one objects that this is impossible because an Attic poet would have said *κλειναὶ* or *λιπαραὶ* Ἀθῆναι, but not *θείαι* Ἀθῆναι like *θεία Σαλαμίς*, the remark is, I believe, just and scholarly. Only Ἀθήνας is not to blame, but *θείαις* which, under all circumstances, must be corrupt. The question between Ἀθήνας and *τιθήναις* is one of taste and sense; in the case of *θείαις* we have the still more formidable factor *metre*. For the antistrophe

οὐδὲ Μου-
σᾶν χοροὶ νιν ἀπεστύγησαν οὐδ'
αὖ χρυσάνιος Ἀφροδίτα

has a syllable too much or too little; *too little* if *θείαις* is to be kept; and this missing syllable it will be hard to supply by patchwork. But the metre is not likely to be — — — — — but — — — — — which is obtained for the strophe by leaving out *θείαις*. In the antistrophe no one keeps αὖ; all change it to ἀ, retaining οὐδέ. But the poets like to say οὐδε—οὐ. So Antig. 249, ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὔτε του γενῆδος ἦν πλῆγμ' οὐ δικέλλης ἐκβολή. O. C. 973, Ant. 952. And of οὐ here I believe αὖ to be the corruption, and οὐδέ the interpolation; so that the antistrophe should be read

οὐδὲ Μου-
σᾶν χοροὶ νιν ἀπεστύγησαν
οὐ χρυσάνιος Ἀφροδίτα,

and the strophe

ἴν' ὁ βακχιώ-
τας ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβα-
τεύει, ἀμφιπολῶν Ἀθήνας.

θείαις I presume comes from ἀεὶ and θάλλει.

ΟΙ. ἐρῶ· σὲ γὰρ τῶνδ' ἐς πλεόν γύναι σέβω*
 Κρέοντος, οἷά μοι βεβουλευκῶς ἔχει.

ΙΟ. λέγ' εἰ σαφῶς τὸ νεῖκος ἐγκαλῶν ἐρείς.

This last line cannot be construed. From Philoct. 327, εὖ γ' ὃ τέκνον we learn to restore εὖ γ' for λέγ'. But the words τὸ νεῖκος ἐγκαλῶν are also unintelligible; read τὸ νεῖκος ἐκκαλοῦν, that which caused the quarrel. The whole line running—

ΙΟ. εὖ γ' εἰ σαφῶς τὸ νεῖκος ἐκκαλοῦν ἐρείς.

In Philoct. 43 we read—

ἀλλ' ἢ 'πὶ φορβῆς νόστον ἐξέληλυθεν
 ἢ φύλλον εἴ τι νόδυνον κάτοιδ' ἐπ' οὖ.

The corrections *μαστύν*, etc., fail partly on grounds of syntax, and partly because the language of the tragedians is averse to unusual words. I propose (with some diffidence)

ἀλλ' ἢ 'πὶ φορβῆς μεστόν ἐξέληλυθεν
 ἢ φύλλον εἴ τι νόδυνον κάτοιδ' ἐπ' οὖ.

That is some herb filled with nourishment or relieving pain. The previous line is an illustration of the habits of the copyist:

πῶς γὰρ ἂν νοσῶν ἀνὴρ
 κῶλον παλαιᾷ κηρὶ προσβαίη μακράν;

προσβαίη is absolutely inappropriate; the poet wrote

ἄστ' οὐχ ἑκάς ποῦ· πῶς γὰρ ἂν νοσῶν ἀνὴρ
 κῶλον παλαιᾷ κηρὶ καὶ βαίη μακράν;

the *καί* seems to me almost necessary; just as in English we should say, 'how could a man with a diseased foot go far.' But two words beginning with *κ* successively were too much for the first copyist, and the corrector finding a syllable

* All the editions seem to me to mistake this line. Jocasta asks the chorus to tell her the reason of the quarrel. They refuse. She then asks Oedipus, and he says 'I will.' The editions take the rest of the line to mean 'for I honour you more than *them*'; but what sense has this? Surely it must be 'for I honour you more than *they* do.'

wanting, like a school-boy writing verses, attached a preposition to the verb.*

* There are scholars still who follow this method of correction. On O. T. 875, ἀπότομον ὥρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν, an English editor of Sophocles remarks that S. probably used a compound of ὀρούω, and so he writes

ἀπότομον ἐξώρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν,

not seeing that ἐξορούω is wholly out of place, and that the metre is thereby spoiled.

Similarly on Antig. 648—

μὴ δῆτα τέκνον τὰς φρένας ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
γυναικὸς οὐνεκ' ἐκβάλλης,

the same scholar accepts the Triclinian emendation

τὰς φρένας γ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς,

'not because he is sure that it is right, but because it is more probable than anything else.' (May we write τὰς φρένας καθ' ἡδονήν, i.e., 'at a moment's notice,' as we say?) And so Brunck: 'Triclinius τὰς φρένας γ'. *Recte; nam sine hoc fulcro versus stare non potest.*' Triclinius did *something* for Sophocles, and so did Brunck: the former more than the latter on Oed. Tyr. 494-509, by omitting in the antistrophe the senseless words γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, which come out of the Laurentian Scholia; whereas Brunck on 494 gives the grotesque correction πρὸς ὅτου χρησάμενος δὴ βασάνῳ. Neither of them saw the important point, the punctuation of the passage, which should be as follows: πέτομαι δ' ἐλπίσιν, οὐτ' ἐνθάδ' ὄρων οὐτ' ὀπίσω—τί γὰρ ἢ Λαβδακίδαίς ἢ τῷ Πολύβου νεῖκος ἔκειτ' οὔτε πάροιθεν ποτ' ἔγωγ' οὔτε τανῦν πω ἔμαθον—πρὸς ὅτου δὴ βασάνου (codd. male βασάνῳ) ἐπὶ τὰν ἐπίδαμον φάτιν εἰμ' Οἰδιπόδα, i.e., seeing neither here nor in the future—as I know of no quarrel between the two houses—any evidence on which to attack the world-wide fame of Oedipus (i.e., the renowned Oedipus) to avenge an obscure murder.

Seyffert's correction of Antig. 648, χύθ' ἡδονῆς, is an illustration of a method against which the writer of these pages will often have occasion to protest. *The Tragedians did not use obscure words.* Seyffert, whose works on Latin composition are of high merit, was not great as a corrector of Sophocles. Witness Antig. 1080—

ἐχθραὶ δὲ πᾶσαι συνταράσσονται πόλεις
ὅσων σπαράγματ' ἢ κύνες καθήγγισαν
ἢ θῆρες ἢ τις πτηνὸς οἰωνὸς, φέρων
ἀνόσιον ὁσμὴν ἐστιοῦχον ἐς πόλιν.

Seyffert wrote ὅσων τὰ πράγματ'(!). Of course the error is in

And here I should venture one general remark about the work in which this study is a humble attempt. In reading the Attic Tragedians we may be sure that anything which is *difficult* or *awkward* is corrupt.* This is what Blaydes has repeatedly asserted; and his resolute adherence to this canon is what constitutes to my mind the chief merit of his edition. The Attic audience had no time to think out double or treble constructions, or to pick out agreements and governments. The plays were intended for the stage, not for the schools; and some dramatists, as we learn from Athenaeus, if unsuccessful, never published their pieces at all. From Plato's *Symposium* we know that a tragic crown was thought a tremendous distinction; and from Aristophanes' *Knights*, that the Athenians, as was just, judged each piece entirely on its own merits, not

καθήγγισαν, which should be corrected κατήγγισαν, i.e., brought near. Cf. Rutherford on Babrius, fab. 1.

The editor alluded to above, though his text as a rule adheres with the most relentless tenacity to the MSS., can sometimes correct Sophocles where he does not require correction: e.g., in fr. 779. 12, where he alters ἀποδημούντος into ἀποληρούντος. Sophocles (?) means 'that you should not be thought the son of a country cousin'; and the editor being also an editor of Plato ('doctissimus Theaeteti editor,' VAHLEN ad Aristot. Poet.) will remember half-a-dozen passages in the 'Laws' where Greek ideas about residents in town and country are illustrated. Similarly O. T. 329 is marked by this editor as corrupt; strange to say it is not so, but is to be taken ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μῆποτε τᾶμ' (ὡς ἂν εἶπω μὴ τὰ σά) ἐκφῆνω κακά, as I once learnt from Dr. Ridding, and have since found confirmed by Demosth. de F. L. § 104 = 115, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξαρκέσειε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι ξυμμάχοις διὰ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τούτου λέγω, τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι. The meaning is then, 'you do not know, and a man must be a fool to reveal his own crimes.' The inverted μὴ is frequent in Sophocles, and is one of his mannerisms. Philoct. 67. 332. 653. 961 (Ellendt very rightly *interstitio loquendi post ὅλοιο facto MINIME pronuntiandum*), O. C. 1522. (The *mannerisms* of Sophocles are worth collecting; essays on his *language* are apt to be collections of corrupt and misunderstood passages, wronging the poet, and throwing science back.)

* The canon applies indeed to all writers save those purposely, or by nature, obscure. Cf. Bachmann, Praef. Lycoph. i. p. 7.

taking into consideration former achievements on the part of the author. If, therefore, a poet aimed at success, his first effort must have been directed towards making himself intelligible.* We see, therefore, that he had the *will* to write good and easy Greek. Nor can we doubt that he had the *power*.† Why then should he have rejected his 'vernacular idiom'? And how could he count on his audience understanding him, however acute the theatre may have been known to be? For the awkwardnesses of which we complain are not *natural* awk-

* Cf. Aristoph. Ran. 1122.

† I know that high authorities have asserted that Sophocles and Thucydides knew no grammar, and have on that principle accounted for the peculiarities of those writers' styles. The more I examine this proposition, the more hopelessly unable I am to make any meaning out of it; if it is a paradox, I do not see the point; if it is meant seriously, it seems to me to contradict every known fact of language and languages. The fragment of Plato on Hyperbolus,

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἡττίκειν, ὃ Μοῦσαι φίλαι,
ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη διητώμην λέγειν
ἔφασκ' ἐδιδαιτώμην· ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι
ὀλίγον, ὁ δ' ὀλίον ἔλεγεν,

coming from one who by profession was an opponent of the *à-la-mode* education, shows that an Athenian had as clear an idea of speaking good Attic as an Englishman has of speaking good English, or an Aethiopian of speaking good Aethiopic. (Cf. the first sermon in Dillmann's Chrestomathy, where the preacher asks the congregation to pardon any mistake he may make *in the language*. The Aethiopians prior or posterior to Christianity were not, so far as I know, a specially cultivated race; the mythical Apollonius found them charlatans, and Philostratus has usually *some* inaccurate knowledge about the places whither he sends his Messiah.) The fact that there were no *grammars* does not prove that there was no grammar; for though Patanjali (Mahābhāṣya, *Prooemium* = Sarvadarṇanasangraha, *System of Pāṇini*) denies the possibility of teaching a language word by word;—illustrating the proposition by the story that the Teacher of the gods taught Indra Sanskrit on this method for a thousand 'divine' years, and at the end Indra turned out a poor scholar;—it is nevertheless certain that we all learn our mother-tongues in this way; we find out the analogies for ourselves, and get the exceptions by practice.

wardnesses *—such as anacolutha, where the speaker has got into a net which he must cut to extricate himself—but harshnesses and *difficulties* to be got over by grammatical sophistry, or verbose sentimentality, as *e.g.*,

οὐνεκ' ἔστι σοι

βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικῆς ἔχον τέχνης.

I should not hesitate to say that it were an insult to Sophocles to take that line as a specimen of his writings. 'Explaining corrupt passages' may be added to the collection of the Scholiast on Aristophanes on the phrase λίθον ἔψεις.

256. ὥσθ' ὄρκον αὐτῷ προσβαλὼν διώμοσεν
ἦ μὴν τὸν ἀγχιστῆρα τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους
σὺν παιδὶ καὶ γυναικὶ δουλώσειν ἔτι.

ἀγχιστῆρα is corrupt: no such word exists, or could, as Dr. Nauck points out. Dr. Nauck himself corrects αὐτόχειρα, but if I may differ from that Scholar, I should remark that Eurytus could scarcely be called the αὐτόχειρ of Heracles' slavery; he was only the first cause. I think we should read

ἦ μὴν τὸν ἀρχετῆρα τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους.

ἀρχετῆρ is to ἀρχέης as ὑφηγητῆρ to ὑφηγητής, and as ἰκετῆρ to ἰκέτης. The course of the corruption was as follows: ἀρχετῆρα was written ἀρχαιτῆρα, and then the fatal ρ did its work.

In Antig. 593 we have the following ungrammatical and unmetrical passage—

ἀρχαῖα τὰ Λαβδακιδᾶν οἴκων ὀρώμαι
πήματα φθιτῶν (~~Herm.~~ φθιμένων) ἐπὶ πήμασι πίπτουθ'.

This should be corrected,

ἀρχαῖα τὰ Λαβδακιδᾶν σκοπῶν ὀρώμαι
πήματα φθάντων ἐπὶ πήμασι πίπτουθ'.

The verb φθάνειν does not occur in Sophocles, if I may trust Ellendt, but it was an every-day word in Attic.

* The author of the Siddhānta-Kaumudī excuses the form *subhru* in Bh. K. on the ground of Rāma's emotion at the time. However Sanskrit was, of course, a learned language to the author of that 'poem,' in which, besides, he was not always perfect. Cf. the Comm. on 5, 89; 5, 101; 6, 41; 10, 18.

250. τοῦ λόγου δ' οὐ χρὴ φθόνον
γύναι προσεῖναι Ζεὺς ὅτου πράκτωρ φανῇ.

Dr. Nauck ingeniously interprets: there is no harm in *saying* a thing when Zeus *does* it. Cf. O. T. 1409. However, he allows that this sense does not come naturally out of the words as we have them, and he suspects τοῦ λόγου. If I may differ from him, I should suggest that we have only to make a slight change—

τῷ λόγῳ δ' οὐ χρὴ φθόνον
γύναι προσεῖναι Ζεὺς ὅταν πράκτωρ φανῇ.

The case is somewhat different in O. T. 116,

οὐδ' ἄγγελός τις οὐδὲ συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ
κατεῖδ' ὅπου τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήσατ' ἄν;

where for ὅπου we should obviously write ὅτῳ,

κατεῖδ' ὅτῳ τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήσατ' ἄν;

'saw anything of which use might have been made;' to which the answer is—

ὣν εἶδε πλὴν ἐν οὐδὲν εἶχ' εἰδὼς φράσαι.

The corruptions of the letter π have obscured for us many places in Greek tragedy. So in O. T. 685,

ἄλις ἔμοιγ' ἄλις, γὰς προπονουμένας
φαίνεται ἔνθ' ἔληξεν αὐτοῦ μένειν,

προπονουμένας is meaningless and has long been justly condemned; we should read

γὰς προνοουμένης,

On the other hand the letter π is happily preserved in the mutilated prologue of the Antigone:

ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν
ὁποῖον οὐχὶ νῶν ἔτι ζώσαιν τελεεῖ;

Read (as Ph. 878, El. 873, Tr. 1255, sufficiently shows us)

ἀνάπαυλαν οὐχὶ νῶν ἔτι ζώσαιν τελεεῖ;

265. λέγων χεροῖν μὲν ὡς ἄφυκτ' ἔχων βέλη
τῶν ὧν τέκνων λείποιτο πρὸς τόξου κρίσιν.
φώνει δὲ δούλος ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἐλευθέρου
ραίοιτο.

Dr. Nauck will here again, I trust, pardon me if I differ slightly from him in the treatment of this passage. We should read

φωνὴν δὲ δούλος ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἐλευθέρου
αἶροιτο,

i.e., that he made himself out a free man, when he was really a slave. *ῥαίοιτο* is a word which could not easily occur in tragedy.* The corruption is not very serious. For the use of *αἶρομαι*, compare O. T. 1225.

289. αὐτὸν δ' ἐκείνον εὐτ' ἂν ἀγνὰ θύματα
 ῥέξῃ πατρός Ζηνὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως
 φρόνει νιν ὡς ἥξοντα.

The last line is ungrammatical: read

φρόνει νυν ᾧδ' ἥξοντα.

Cf. Ellendt², s. v. *νύν*.

295. πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη τῇδε τοῦτο συντρέχειν.

* How many impossible words may have been foisted into Sophocles (as into Aeschylus) by the copyists we cannot easily ascertain. I entertain, *e.g.*, the strongest doubts as to the existence of the word *δυσάλητος* = *ἀνάλητος*. The fact that Suidas cites O. T. 12 with *δυσανάλητος*, and under the article *ἀνάλητος*, does not go for much, though for something. The other instances in which this word occurs are (1) in the glorious series of epithets in Philo de Sacrif. p. 268 M., wrongly cited by Dind. in the Thes. as meaning *ἀναίσθητος*: as from the nature of its neighbours we learn that it must signify 'badly suffering.' (2) Cited in Pollux from Eupolis as a synonym of *δύσοιστος*, *δυσανάσχετος*: which I do not believe, unless *ἀλγεῖν* meant *φέρειν*, *πάσχειν* [Meineke's treatment of this fragment is to me wholly unintelligible. See on Fr. Inc. 32.] (3) In a fragment of Sophocles (689. 2), *ὅστις γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσιν ἰμείρει βίον ἢ δειλὸς ἐστὶν ἢ δυσάλητος φρένας*. My difficulty in this passage is that the alternatives are not exhausted, indeed that the *δυσάλητος* = *ἀνάλητος* alternative scarcely makes sense. Surely it is illogical to say, 'he who when in trouble desires to live must either be a coward, or does not feel the trouble.' If he does not feel it he is not in trouble; *ἀλγεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν ὑσθημένος*. With all courtesy to the poet, and *pace Schopenhaueri*, I should suggest another alternative; that he is not right in his mind. And this I believe Sophocles

This line may be spurious, as Dr. Nauck thinks; anyhow it should be corrected—

πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη τῇδε τοῦτο συντυχεῖν.

'That this should happen to me,' i.e., 'to be affected in this way.'

304. ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαῖε μήποτ' εἰσίδοιμί σε
πρὸς τοῦμόν οὔτω σπέρμα χωρήσαντά ποι.

χωρήσαντά ποι is meaningless: read

πρὸς τοῦμόν οὔτω σπέρμα χωρὶς ἐντροπῆς.

ἐντροπή = ὥρα is used by Sophocles O. C. 299, and cf. *supra*,
ἐπεὶ τίς ὦδε Ζῆνα τέκνοις ἄβουλον εἶδεν.

meant; and that the word *mind* which remains bears witness to the fact, though I leave it to some one else to suggest the Greek for 'not right in.' Still the fact that *δυσάλητος* occurs nowhere else would be no argument against its existence. My doubts are drawn from *the form*;—not from the use of the term. *-ήτος actively*, as I know that these forms may be used optionally: e.g., in the first 200 lines of the *Trach.* only I find ἀμφινεικῇ = ἀμφινεικῆτος, ἀνάνδρωτος = ἀνανδρος, ἀδάκρυτος = ἄδακρυς, εὐμναστος = εὐμνάμων, ἀναμπλάκτητος active, ἀνάληγτα, ἀλύπητος = ἄλυπος. But I know of no word signifying evil which when compounded with *δus* is negated by that particle; the idea is merely *strengthened*: so, e.g., *δυσδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα* *Trach.*, does not mean lamentations hard to weep over, etc., but lamentations accompanied by painful tears. Compare *δυσθρήνητος*, etc. The same is the case in Sanskrit: e.g., looking down the columns 615 sq. in Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda* I find that *duṣ-cyavanā* = schwer zu erschüttern, *dur-mārsa* = unvergesslich, *dur-gāham*, schwer zu durchdringender Ort, *dur-vārtu*, schwer abzuwehren; but that *dur-māda* means bösen Rausch habend, *trunken*, toll, von tollem Wahn bethört; *dur-māyá*, böse Künste anwendend. In *Zend*, from the list given by Justi *Handbuch*, p. 159 sq., the idea of evil would never seem to be absent from this particle: *duzhāpa* is rendered schwer zu erlangen; *duzhita*, schwer zugänglich; in the rest *dush*, *duzh* is invariably schlimm, übel, schlecht.

If the restoration of these poets is ever completed, the lexica will have to be re-written: e.g., ἐκπατίοις will disappear and be found under ἐκπάγλοις; this being one of the thousand instances in which τ in our MSS. represents γ.

The wrong division of words is a frequent cause of corruption in MSS. One curious instance occurs in Ag. 360, where we read the apparently hopeless words—

πέφανται δ' ἐγγόνους, ἀτολμήτων Ἄρη, πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως.

We have merely to alter one γ to ρ and write

πέφανται δ' ἔργον οὔσα τόλμη τῶν Ἄρη πνεόντων κ.τ.λ.

309. ἄνανδρος ἢ τεκούσα ; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ φύσιν
πάντων ἄπειρος τῶνδε, γενναία δέ τις.

πάντων, as Dr. Nauck points out, is corrupt: read

πόνων ἄπειρος τῶνδε.

312. ἔξειπ' ἐπεὶ νιν τῶνδε πλείστον ᾤκτισα
βλέπουσ' ὄσπερ καὶ φρονεῖν οἶδεν μόνη.

No sense is to be got out of l. 313: read

βλέπουσ', ὄσονπερ καὶ φρονεῖν, οὐδὲν μόνη.

The line, however, cannot have been spoken by Deanira.

320. εἴπ' ὦ τάλαιν' ἀλλ' ἡμὶν ἐκ σαντῆς, ἐπεὶ
καὶ ξυμφορὰ τοι μὴ εἰδέναι σέ γ' ἦτις εἶ.

Read

καὶ ξυμφέρει σοῦμ' εἰδέναι σέ γ' ἦτις εἶ.

I write σοῦμ' for σοι ἐμέ as οὐπιχώριοι is written, O. T. 939 (G. Meyer, § 153, Kühner² I. s. v. Krasis, neither of whom attempt to exhaust the instances in the dramatists; cf. Whitney, Sansk. Gr. § 132 sq.); and similarly for the unintelligible line, Antig. 674—

ἦδε σὺν μάχῃ δορὸς

τροπὰς καταρρήγνυσιν,

I should read

ἦδε τοῦν μάχῃ δορὸς

τροπὰς καταρρήγνυσιν,

i.e., ἦδε τοι ἐν.*

*. So in the 'Nineteenth Century,' March 1883, Dr. Ridding wrote οὐρέται for οἱ ἐρέται. The anonymous reviewer of Rutherford's 'Phrynichus,' etc., in the 'Guardian,' May 1883, professed to have found some 'mistakes' in the verses of 'one of the greatest living head-masters.' Till he has the courage to explain himself the public will believe that *the mistakes are on the critic's side.*

με εἰδέναι and μὴ εἰδέναι are not unfrequently confused by the copyists; so in Aesch. Ag. 1196—

ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμοσας τὸ μ' εἰδέναι
λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ' ἁμαρτίας δόμων,

we should read with Dobree

ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμοσας τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι κ.τ.λ.

i.e., swear, if you dare, that you have never heard speak of old crimes connected with this palace; Cassandra's credentials as a prophétesse being (like those of Prometheus in the play that bears his name) that *she knew the secret past*: to which the answer is

καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκος ῥῆμα γενναίως παγέν
παιώνιος γένοιτο,

would that we could *swear them away*.*

322. οὐ τᾶρα τῷ γε πρόσθεν οὐδὲν ἐξ ἴσου
χρόνῳ διοίσει γλώσσαν ἥτις οὐδαμὰ
προὔφηεν οὔτε μείζον' οὔτ' ἐλάσσονα.

Dr. Nauck will here again pardon me for disagreeing with him. Correct—

οὐ τᾶρα τῷ γε πρόσθεν οὐδὲν ἡξίου
χρόνῳ διορίσαι γλώσσαν ἥτις οὐδαμὰ
προὔφηεν οὔτε μείζον' οὔτ' ἐλάσσονα.

The reader who has followed me thus far will have asked himself one question; Is it only the Trachiniae that has a mistake in almost every line, or have all the plays of the two old

* The cod. gives πῆμα. Auratus' correction πῆγμα has been universally received, even by the cautious Kirchhoff, Berl. 1880, but is nevertheless *impossible*; πῆγμα never meant anything but a 'hoisting machine.' Had the Tragedians, with whom πῆγνυμι is a favourite, and employed in all kinds of metaphors, known of πῆγμα *we must have had it elsewhere*. Many great men lie μεγάλοι μεγαλωστί over this simple passage; Schömann (!) and Madvig (!!) both write προνομιάση; and Hermann gives ἐκμαρτύρησον a meaning which reminds one of the Rabbinical commentaries on the Bible. Hermann's Aeschylus has always seemed to me one of the most over-rated books in the world (*vide* Ritschl *praeef. Septem contra Thebas*; Haupt *praeef. to Herm.*; cf. Gesen. *Thes., dedic. to vol. ii.*); very little is

poets suffered in the same way? Or rather, the question will have been already answered; for with our corrections of the *Trachiniae* we have interspersed sufficient illustrations of the errors in the texts of the other plays with which we happen to be at present most familiar, to prove the following theorem: That the tradition of the great masterpieces of Greek tragedy is corrupt in a degree *absolutely unparalleled*. The simplicity, beauty, logical continuity, and grammatical correctness of the old masters' style are marred at every turn by the blunders of the copyist, and the more intolerable blunders of the interpolator. We see the sea-god Glaucus under the accretions of slime, and shells, and stones, which ages have heaped upon him, mutilating his limbs and disfiguring his person. But it is because the old tragic style is so simple, beautiful, logically continuous, and grammatically correct, that we are enabled to rescue the poetry from the accretions, in a vast number of cases with absolute certainty, and in many with a high degree of probability.* And towards the accomplishment of this work the way has been broken in an admirable manner by Blaydes in England, and Nauck in Russia. Blaydes, ridiculed in this country by some, and patronized by others, has done more to make a restoration of Attic tragedy possible than all his predecessors, with Porson and Elmsley at their head. Because Porson and his followers contented themselves with sporadic observations, to use Müller-Strübing's expression, "with cropping the hair, and paring the nails, and trimming the beards" of their authors; whereas Blaydes and his illustrious colleague have set themselves to work with scholarly instinct to find

done for the author, and that little with offensive arrogance. 'Much is,' of course, 'to be pardoned in a posthumous production' (Cumberland, *praef.* to Bentley's *Lucan*); but I imagine that Hermann's tremendous reputation was due to his personal powers and influence as a teacher, rather than to any extraordinary scholarship, learning, or power of divination (cf. Madvig *Adversaria*, bk. i., ad fin.). The same probably has been the case with many of the great professors of Germany. (Compare Kneucker's memoir of Hitzig, prefixed to the *Biblische Theologie* of the latter, and Steiner's *Festrede* (also pref. to Hitzig's *Minor Prophets*, ed. 4) with the sober article on that scholar in the new edition of Herzog and Plitt.)

* This is obviously not a paradox.

out and to treat the "wounds, bruises, and putrefying sores."

Though ample illustration of these statements has already been given, I will add one or two specially striking examples of the disgraceful negligence of the copyists. In Aesch. Ag. 931, we read

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπὲ μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.

ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.

ΚΑ. ἧῤω θεοῖς δέϊσας ἂν ᾧδ' ἔρδεν τάδε;

ΑΓ. εἴ πέρ τις εἰδώς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξείπον τέλος.

It is no exaggeration to say that every one of these lines presents inextricable difficulties to the interpreter. The commentators try their hardest without any success; and the present writer has spent days in trying to get any meaning into them or out of them. And yet this ought not to be; for, supposing that obscurity can be tolerated in a choric ode, or a speech, where the singer's or speaker's thought is coloured and interpreted by the nature of the environment, it cannot be tolerated in monostichs, which must either interpret themselves, or for ever hold their peace. But still, such is the simplicity of the poet that, in spite of the corruptions which, as I hope to show, disfigure every line, enough traces are left to enable us to recover what I believe to be the very words of the original. The wrong words and the right may be placed side by side; but they do not intermingle.

First, then, we observe that in l. 931 εἶπέ is plainly a mis-writing for εἶκε:

καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶκε μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί

'Yet do not yield me this against your judgment.' Then the meaning of 932 becomes plain; 'be assured that I shall not let my *judgment* be perverted;' i.e., 'you will never persuade me that it is *right* to do this.'

In the third line δέϊσας has no meaning; a man does not vow to the gods to do a certain thing on condition of *his getting into a fright*; but on condition of his escaping a danger, winning a battle, etc. δέϊσας, it seems to me, *may* be an interpretation of the line, in which case it is tolerable; but *in* the line it cannot have occurred. I write therefore—

ἧῤω θεοῖς σωθεῖς ἂν ᾧδ' ἔρδεν τάδε;

This teaches me the meaning of τέλος in the remaining line;

it is τέλος σωτηρίας. The corruption of εἶκε into εἶπέ *supra* helps us to restore ἰκόμην for ἐξείπον; i.e., ἰκον was written for ἰκόμην, and ἐξῖκον was a corrector's patchwork; so Aesch. Ag. 1495, θήγει is written for θήγεται, ib. 158, λέξαι for ἐλέγξεται. Agamemnon means that, as he was certain of success from the beginning,* any such vows would have been superfluous.

εἴπερ τις εἰδώς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἰκόμην τέλος.

And now the reader shall have the four lines together as he had the four of the corrupt tradition:

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶκε μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.

ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμε.

ΚΛ. ἤξω θεοῖς σωθεῖς ἂν ᾧδ' ἔρδειν τάδε;

ΑΓ. εἴπερ τις εἰδώς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἰκόμην τέλος.

I will not assert that these lines are *exactly* as Aeschylus left them; I will assert that they are clear, pointed, and worthy of the writer; and that an editor by inserting them in his text would be doing better than by practising the doubtful virtue of 'adherence to the MSS.'

I will add one more instance from the Agamemnon. Cassandra's magnificent harangue contains the following passage, l. 1266 sqq., which metrical considerations have long shown to be corrupt, though critics have differed as to the method of correction—

σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.

ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ'. ἀγαθὸν δ' ἀμείψομαι.

ἄλλην τιν' ἄτην ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.

The second line should long ago have been palaeographically interpreted as follows—

ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον' πεσήμαθ' ᾧδ' ἀμείψομαι.

The third line is quite genuine except that, according to our modern orthography, Ate should be spelt with a capital. The line means "enrich someone else, that is Ate (or, as we should say, the Devil), instead of me;" and this gives us a clear cor-

* Compare Ag. 236 sq.,

τέχνη δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι·

ὁ μέλλων δ' ἐπεὶ γένηται κλέος, προχαίρετω

ἴσον δὲ τὸν προστένειν

τορὸν γὰρ ἥξει ξύνορθρον αὐγαῖς,

as those lines should be written.

rection of part of a much-mauled passage in the Suppliants of the same writer; ll. 443 sq.

καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένων
ἄτης γε μείζω καὶ μέγ' ἐμπλήσας γόμου,

which should be written

καὶ χρήματιν μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένων
* Ἀτην γεμίζων.

Aeschylus has long been recognised as corrupt; and the world expected great things from Hermann, but did not get them. Only the two scholars whom I have named have had any idea of the real state of the text of Sophocles. Let me add a few wantonnesses to those already piled up in these pages. Small words like οὐ and μὴ and καὶ and all the cases of the article are treated as counters that can be simply interchanged without loss or gain. In O. T. we have οὐ omitted—

τίνι τρόπῳ καθέστατε
δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες;

for

δείσαντες ἢ οὐ στέρξαντες;*

* The harshness of Dr. Kennedy's view of this passage will be seen by comparing Plato, Ll. p. 850 (the passage so far as I know most parallel) ὁ δὲ προέμενος ὡς πιστεύων ἕαν τε κομίσῃται καὶ ἕαν μὴ, στεργέτω ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὐσης τῶν τοιούτων περὶ συναλλάξεων: there must always be some object implied which ὁ στέργων στέργει. (Paley goes strangely wrong over Eum. 911—στεργῶ γὰρ ἀνδρὺς φιτυποίμενος δίκην τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος—even in his fourth edition; τῶνδε is obj. gen., i.e., 'I like to see the generation of the righteous untroubled by such weeds as these.' How else does the comparison between Athena and the ἀνὴρ φιτυποίμην come in at all?) Nauck's note on this passage seems to me a model of sound criticism (as indeed his whole edition is). 'If οἱ στέρξαντες are οἱ ἤδη παθόντες they must be so as being reconciled to their misfortunes; and is this a possible ground for making a ἱκετεία? If, on the other hand, they are οἱ χρήζοντες why does Sophocles make use of so unintelligible an expression?' (Nauck's note in substance.) I had once thought the question to be 'is this a ἱκετεία or a πρόσδος?' (of the kind alluded to in Plato's Laws as the proper occupation for boys). But I have no real doubt of the

which could scarcely have been restored had not Nauck, with his ordinary tact, laid his finger on the seat of the corruption.

In the next line the same all-important particle is put in where (as I shall try to show in a foot-note)* it has no place in Attic Greek.

solution suggested above of a passage which has occupied me longer than any other, and which first taught me to walk by the light of Nauck.

Having cited the 'Laws' once or twice in this note I may call attention to the state of the text of that magnificent work, which in both the Zurich editions is simply unreadable. One or two instances: p. 866 = p. 291 ed.², ἐὰν δ' ὁ προσήκων ἐγγύτατα μὴ ἐπεξέη τῷ παθήματι, τὸ μίasma ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν περιεληλυθὸς τοῦ παθόντος προστρεπομένου τὴν πάθην, ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπεξελθὼν τούτῳ δίκην πέντε ἔτη ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἀναγκαζέτω κατὰ νόμον. The spaced words give no meaning at all. P. 871, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μίasma εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχθραν δέχοιτο, ὡς ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην προτρέπεται, suggests that something wholly different stood there—which, having no metre and no 'law of simplicity' to guide me, I do not venture to restore. On the other hand, I am not likely to be the first person who has seen that in p. 853 = 274², ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ νομοθεταὶ θεῶν παισὶ νομοθετοῦμεν, οἱ τοῖς ἥρωσι κ.τ.λ. should be written for νομοθετούμενοι. Whether the extraordinary harshness of style which characterises this otherwise brilliant piece is Plato's fault or that of his copyists I cannot determine.

* The only thing that might make me still think that μὴ οὐ in the sense of 'unless' might be an Attic idiom, is the fact that Lucian, who so envied the Atticists he pretended to despise, simply revels in it (Hermot. § 49, Catapl. § 15, Tyrannic. § 15, etc.). As however he uses the combination sometimes where in Attic it certainly would not have been allowed, I am not sure that his evidence is worth much. In Attic, unless I am mistaken, it only occurs in the following places: 1. The three well-known passages of Sophocles, all corrupt or misunderstood; 2. One place of Isocrates (10 § 74); as however there are five other passages (5 § 34, 8 § 11, 15 § 233, § 255, § 276) to be found in his small corpus in which the simple μὴ is used in precisely similar circumstances instead, that place may very well be corrupt. 3. In Demosthenes it occurs once, de F. L. § 135, against countless (e.g., Lept. § 122) instances of

In O. T. 656 we have the absurd and tautologous phrase—

τὸν ἐναγῇ φίλον μήποτ' ἐν αἰτία
σὺν ἀφανεῖ λόγῳ σ' ἄτιμον βαλεῖν,

for

τὸν ἄφιλον γένη μήποτ' ἐν αἰτία
σὺν ἀφανεῖ λόγῳ ἄτιμον βαλεῖν.

the single particle. Nowhere else in Attic historians, philosophers, orators, or poets. 4. The fragment of Philemon (Meineke, IV., p. 30) contains an instance that is very probably but not certainly right; for οὐ in this sense cf. Dem. Mid. § 129, 29 § 45. (I may just observe that in this fragment, l. 9, Meineke should not have accepted Bentley's correction τέχνην for τύχην, which spoils the sense of the passage; the poet means to say, 'if a person gets by *his own exertions* into the haven of *fortune*,' and not by a mere windfall. On Bentley's powers as a critic I am inclined to think Dr. Robinson Ellis was a little severe in his elaborate and excellent joke, 'Academy,' Aug. 4, 1883.) Of the three passages of Herodotus I do not know what to say; they are all obscurely worded, and may be taken with a double or a single negative in force, and the best known of them, 6. 106, was read with a single negative by Plutarch, and interpreted with a double one by the Herodotean Pausanias. Polybius deals most largely in this idiom, (though not consistently; ix. 14. 8, x. 45. 5), as may be seen from Schweighäuser's Lexicon; but Casaubon justly remarked that it was a 'male cordatus homo' who went to Polybius to learn grammar instead of politics. In writers from the second century onwards it is sporadic, and, so far as I can see, absolutely undistinguishable from the single particle. I can remember it only once in Philostratus, three times in Diodorus, nowhere in Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, or Athenaeus. What the inference to be drawn as to its existence in *Greek* should be I do not know, but the inference as to its use in Attic is almost clear.

The uses of μή οὐ in Hippocrates are curious, though I have found no case of the double particle with a participle. περὶ κεφ. § 13, πρίειν χρή καὶ οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας μή ὑπερβάλλειν ἀπρίωτον ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃσι πρίειν, is strangely like a Hebrew instance to be discussed below. For other combinations cf. de med. vet. §§ 12, 13. περὶ ἀγμῶν § 33. Cf. Demosth. Or. 23 § 94.

Xenophon (*v. supra*) avoids the μή οὐ=unless (Anab. 6. 4. 19, 6. 5. 18), but varies between μή and μή οὐ in the other cases

In O. T. 608 we read and puzzle over—

γνώμη δ' ἀδήλω μὴ με χωρὶς αἰτιῶ,

where the poet perhaps left γνώμης δ' ἀληθοῦς μ. μ. χ. α.; and so on without end.

Where then are we to find the remedy?

Oberdick, in a recent number of *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, reproached Kirchhoff for having published the Scholia on Aeschylus without a fresh collation of the Medicean MS.;

strangely: *Cyrop.* 2. 2. 20, αἰσχροὺν ὃν ἀντιλέγειν μὴ οὐχί, *ib.* 8. 4. 5, ἡσχύνετο μὴ οὐ φαίνεσθαι, but *ib.* 3. 2. 16, αἰσχυνοίμεθ' ἂν σοὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες, and 1. 6. 9, αἰσχροὺν ὑποπιτῆξαι καὶ μὴ θέλειν. (Cf. *Demosth.* 24. 125.)

I can remember few passages in the writings of the Etymologists where οὐκ is discussed. Corssen's account (*Vocalismus*, 1. 205) is of course untenable, though accepted by Vanicek, *Etym. Wörterb.* I should be inclined to connect it with the Sansk. *ekam*, one; for the way in which 'one' and 'none' come to be confused, cf. Brugman, *Morphol. Untersuchungen*. (I am aware that this may collide with Osthoff's Law, *ibid.* 2. 113. But is that law certain? Compare Greek οὗτος with Sansk. *esha*.) This would of course explain the idiom we have been dealing with, and the original meaning of the particle would have been preserved, as is so often the case in language, in an isolated form of expression (cf. *Buttmann's Appendix to Meidias* on this point). This would further explain the Greek multiplied negatives, to which there is no real parallel (in the languages which have at present come within my range of study). In Sanskrit, the language nearest Greek, two negatives cancel each other, as may be seen in the injunctive *Māna*, occurring at least a dozen times in the *Bhatti-Kavya* only. In Greek too two μὴ's properly cancel each other, as may be seen from Plato's *Euthyd.* p. 304A. ἡ οὐ has been carefully distinguished from ἡ by Stein on *Herod.* 4. 118, 5. 95. *Thucyd.* III. 50, ἡ οὐ τοῦς αἰτίους should be corrected ἡ αὐτοὺς τοῦς αἰτίους. Cf. *Demosth.* *Lept.* § 84, *Or.* 23 § 75, 30 § 28, 33 § 2, *Anab.* 2. 3. 7, and contrast *Cyrop.* 4. 4. 10.

(The Armenian *othsch*, *not*, has been compared with οὐκ by authorities cited by Lagarde, *Armen. Stud.* § 1732. Hübschmann, however, *Arm. Stud.* i. p. 13, regards this identification (probably with justice) as 'aus lautlichen Gründen im höchsten Masse bedenklich.' The proper Armenian parallel to οὐκ is *okh*; for the main law of Armenian etymology is that *Arm. aspirates correspond to Greek etc. tenues*, *Arm.*

whence I conclude that the farrago at present before the world is incomplete. I may observe that this is to me absolutely incredible; as the Medicean must be a self-filling sponge if it has not been squeezed dry by this time. However I should like to ask Dr. Oberdick what he means to do with these new Scholia when he gets them. Does he want merely to correct them? For if he wants them to help him in correcting Aeschylus, I should ask him to point out a single difficult passage in that poet's writings which the old Scholia have enabled us to correct. And if he cannot do that, as I believe he cannot, why, contrary to the nature of things, does he expect from the mantissa what he does not get from the original? * Yet the Aeschylean Scholia, miserable as they are, are brilliant compared with

mediae to Gk. aspirates, and Arm. tenues to Gk. mediae. Okh means ullus, aucun; e.g., otsch okh giē 'no one knows.' For the vocalism compare otn with oūdas, i.e., oūds, as I hope to show in some Morphological Studies.)

To the instances cited by Brugman l. c. add the occasional use of Sk. *bhūyas* = 'no more.' Rāmā. 3, 68 *yasmin kāle yuvā bhāryām labdhvā bhūyo 'bhinandati, i.e., ceases to care about her.)*

In Hebrew most of the supposed double negatives collected by Gesen. Thes., pp. 801, 2, come to very little. There are, however, three passages (Ewald Lehrb. § 323a) strikingly similar to the Greek $\mu\eta\ \acute{o}\nu$. (1) 1 Ki. x. 21, exactly like l. c. Hippocr. *supra*, only the accents distinguish the negatives, and 2 Chr. ix. 20, which repeats the verse omits the second, thereby spoiling the syntax. (2) Ex. xiv. 11 and 2 Ki. i. 3 contain an extraordinary idiom, which surely the LXX. might have rendered $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ \mu\eta\ \acute{o}\nu\ \kappa\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$. May not this phrase like the Greek preserve the original meaning of 'áyin? cf. Is. xl. 23, where it would seem to mean a 'mite' or a 'very little thing,' comparing the similes Is. xl. 15, 16, 17. *Hilum* would be the literal translation in Latin. Is Dillmann's identification with Arab. 'ayna, 'where,' (lex. Aethiop. col. 796) quite certain?

* Dr. Oberdick has answered this challenge in advance, *Supplices* p. 32 sqq. None of the corrections which he there gives out of the Scholia have been accepted by the latest and most cautious editor Kirchhoff. However, I must here discuss them shortly.

1. S. c. T. 763. $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\nu\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\iota'\ \acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\nu$
 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota.$

Oberdick says, Dem $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\nu\ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ steht in der strophe gegenüber

those on Sophocles, which, as Wunder saw long ago, are *absolutely* worthless: and it is in the nature of things that

σπείρας ἄρουραν ἴν' ἐτράφη; daher stellt Heimsöth mit Recht (?) in der Antistr. die Worte um: ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ δι' ὀλίγον. So scheint übrigens auch der Schol. A. gelesen zu haben: μεταξὺ δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τείνει καὶ τείνεται ἀλλή καὶ βοήθεια ἡμῶν καὶ ἀποσόβησις τῶν πολεμίων δι' ὀλίγον. [Here I would ask; if the Scholiast had found a harsh asyndeton in his text would he not have alluded to the fact?] τίς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀλλή ἡ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν; ὁ πύργος τῆς πόλεως· τουτέστι, μόνον τὸν πύργον τῆς πόλεως ἔχομεν βοηθοῦντα ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποσοβοῦντα. Dann ergibt sich noch etwas anderes aus diesem scholion. Kann τὸν πύργον ... ἔχομεν ... τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποσοβοῦντα die Erklärung von πύργος ἐν εὐρεῖ sein? Dieses ist unmöglich. [Doubtless: as it is obviously the explanation of the preceding scholium, wherein the word ἀποσόβησις happened to be used.] Augenscheinlich las aber der Scholiast zu πύργος ein attributives Participium in der von ihm angegebenen Bedeutung, nämlich τείνει πύργος ἀνείργων statt des verdorbenen ἐν εὐρεῖ. Ganz evident beweist dieses das scholion des Mediceus: μεταξὺ δὲ ἡμῶν δι' ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ τὸ διάστημα ὁ πύργος ὁ διείργων ἐστίν. Wir haben also hier beinahe die ursprüngliche Lesart πύργος ἀνείργων. [However, the difference between ἀνείργων and διείργων in meaning is so very great that the Med. Schol. cannot possibly be used for Oberdick's purpose.] That ἀνείργων does *not* come from the Schol. seems to me plain; he read, as we do, μεταξὺ δ' ἀλλὰ δι' ὀλίγου τείνει πύργος ἐν εὐρεῖ, and tried to make sense of it; if with poor success, we cannot blame him. Aeschylus says, troubles (i.e., the sphinx, the plague, the discord, etc., *not the enemies*) come on like the waves of the sea; τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' αἰερεῖ (sc. θάλασσα) τρίχαλον δ' καὶ περὶ πρύμναν πόλεως παφλάξει. μεταξὺ δ' ἀλλὰ δι' ὀλίγου τείνει πύργος ἐν εὐρεῖ. The metaphor is the old one of the ship of state. Who expects to hear anything of 'towers,' or 'distance from the enemies'? We see πύργος to be corrupt by this consideration; but there is another difficulty; what is the meaning of μεταξὺ? *Between* what and what? I imagine, 'between us and death'; Apollon. Rhod. 4, 1508;

ἀλλὰ κεν ᾗ τὰ πρῶτα μελάγχμιον ἰὼν ἐνείη
ζῶντων, ὅσα γαῖα φερέσβιος ἔμπνοα βόσκει
οὐδ' ὅσπον πήχυιον ἐς Αἶδα γίγνεται οἶμος
οὐδ' εἰ Παιήων εἰ μοι Θέμις ἀμφαδὺν εἰπείν
φαρμάσσοι.

they should be, for they were written long after the disease had set in, indeed *because* the disease had set in; since had we even decent texts of the two masters, Scholia would no more be required for them than they are for Plato or Dio Chrysostom.

'Between us and death,' therefore, 'resistance stretches but a little way.' The passage of Apollonius shows that for *πύργος* a measure of length should be restored, and also suggests that that measure was *πῆχυς*.

μεταξὺ δ' ἄλλὰ δι' ὀλίγου
τείνει πῆχυς ἐν εὐρείᾳ.

(*πύργων* is also corrupt in Ag. 128, where the commentators puzzle over πάντα δὲ πύργων κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοπληθῇ μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει πρὸς το βίαιον. There are two errors: (1) πύργων for Τευκρῶν; (2) δημοπληθῇ (vox nihili) for μυριοπληθῇ; and πρόσθε is a reminiscence of I. 401:

οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν
Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι εὐναιόμενον πτολίεθρον
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης πρὶν ἰλθεῖν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.

Similar instances of repeated corruptions are *τυχεῖν* for *κλύειν*, Ag. 640 and 1075; *πυρὸς* for *πόλεως*, Ag. 588 and 493.)

2. Pers. 134. λέκτρα δ' ἀνδρῶν πόθψ πίμπλαται δακρύμασιν, Περσίδες δ' ἀκροπενθεῖς ἐκάστα πόθψ φιλάνορι τὸν εὐνατήρ' ἀποπεμφαμένα. The Scholiast interprets the first πόθψ by ἀποδημία, whence Oberdick concludes he read ὁδῶ. I cannot see that this follows; and of the two πόθψ's, the second is certainly corrupt, not the first. Read πόνψ φιλάνορι.

3. Choeph. 484. The fact that the Scholiast takes εὐδείπνοις χθονός together, does not show that he read them together; any one who has studied scholia must know this; and the transposition of ἔσει spoils the sense.

4. Eum. 259. περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν. As Kirchhoff has destroyed πλεχθεῖς (as few will doubt, justly), χερῶν and θεᾶς cannot be interchanged. However, there is another argument in favour of Kirchhoff's correction and against Oberdick's; what does the latter make of the unmetrical and ungrammatical ὁ δ' αὖτε γοῦν ἀλλὰν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει; I do not know; but it is certainly to be corrected ὁ δ' αὖθις ἀγκάλαν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει. The remainder ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν is partly to be corrected from the Scholiast, who writes χρεωστῇ; however, ὑπόδικος is to be altered to ἀπόδικος.

ὁ δ' αὖθις ἀγκάλαν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει
πλακεῖσαν ἀμβρότου θεᾶς
ἀπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν,

Hesychius, etc., now that their scraps have all been sorted and labelled, may be resigned entirely to the comparative linguists, and other persons privileged

‘To poach in Suidas for unlicensed Greek.’*

‘wishes to be absolved of his debt.’ Let us give every one his due, and thank the Scholiast for *χρεῶν*; but it will be allowed that that is the smallest part of the above correction.

5. On Eum. 783 ἐν γὰρ τᾷδε, φεῦ,
 ἰὸν ἰὸν ἀντιπενθῇ μεθείσα καρδίας
 σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.

the Scholiast’s brilliant observation, ‘participle for verb finite,’ does not encourage us to expect much from the remark on σταλαγμὸν τὴν κατὰ βραχὺ φθοράν. Heimsöth’s ‘satisfactory’ treatment need not be discussed. It is plain that the otiose χθονί is wrong, and must represent a verb finite in the future; and this can be only *χέομαι*, I shall pour. Read σταλαγμὸν *χέομαι* ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κ.τ.λ. These, I presume, are the best corrections from the scholiasts which Oberdick can adduce. I am not very familiar with Heimsöth’s works; such portions as I have read, and still more, the fact that Nauck rarely cites him, make me doubt whether his ‘Wiederherstellung’ was not imaginary. A last illustration of the worthlessness of these scholia may be taken from Dindorf’s note on Persae 49 (2nd Oxford edition, p. 17), *στεῦται* (pro *στεῦνται*), *veram esse lectionem brevi sed egregio cod. med. scholio docemur*. κλυθ’ ἀλαλὰ πολέμου θύγατερ ῥ’ ὅυεται ἄνδρες. οὕτως στεῦται ἐνικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ. However, Dindorf then proceeds to show that the quotation is wholly inappropriate, and the singular to be explained on a different principle. Dindorf’s life was mostly spent in the study of scholiasts, lexicographers, etc.; if this is his specimen of an *egregium scholium*, what must the ordinary ones be? Compare Dindorf’s Lex. Aeschyl. p. 412.

* Cf. Moritz Schmidt, praef. smaller edition, ed. 2. Hesychius has the gloss ἀλεξαίθριον· θερμὸν σκέπασμα, Σοφοκλῆς’ Ἀμφιαρά. Whether Sophocles used the word in his Amphiarus we have now no means of telling, but I believe him to have used it in Antig. 358, where we now read the corrupt words, πάγων αἰθρία καὶ δύσομβρα φεύγειν βέλη. In place of αἰθρία a substantive is imperatively demanded to represent ‘*clothing*’ in the order of human progress, and that word I write provisionally ἀλεξαίθρια. It is plain, however, that no such uncouth compound ever existed: and that we should restore ἀλέξηθρα



The third help might be supposed to be fresh collation of the manuscripts, or the discovery of new manuscripts. But the MSS. of Sophocles, for instance, some of which I studied last year in Paris, are all about equally bad: that is to say as vicious as any texts in the world. Critics have rarely recognised that textual corruption, like any other malignant eruptive disease, does not confine itself to solitary pustules, but riddles uniformly the entire frame. The corrections to be made from L. in the text, *e.g.*, of K., would scarcely be more than such as any editor who knew his business would discover for himself without a moment's reflection.* Besides, how do we know when the disease began? The MSS. of Aristophanes quote Ag. 104 with ὀδίων κράτος αἴσιον, where κράτος cannot possibly be right, since it gives no meaning of any kind, and Aeschylus would assuredly not have used κράτος in the same place in both 104 and 108; τέρας is with certainty to be restored. The correction from Hesychius in the foot-note of the preceding page is an illustration of a similarly early error. The corruption went on from age to age; and manuscripts even of the first century

= ἀλεξητήρια, which exactly corresponds with the antistrophe; where we should write παραίρων for παρείρων. νόμους παραίρων = νόμοις παράορος ὢν, the same metaphor as in εἴψ τὸ μὴ καλὸν σύνεστι.

* This will give us the answer to Dr. Robinson Ellis's question in his review of the Oxford Sophocles in the *Philologische Wochenschrift*; "Is there nothing certain or positive?" *One certain thing is a good conjecture.* I am inclined to think, however, that my illustrious friend has mistaken the position of the Oxford editor. If a critic asserted that a passage meant A or B or C the reader would not be surprised; though he would be aware that *when two views of a passage are tolerated by an editor, both views are certainly wrong, the passage probably wrong, and the scholarship of the editor possibly wrong.* But it is only fair to the Oxford editor of Sophocles to point out that his favourite method is not this, but a "synthetic unity of apperception," making the passage mean A + B + C. This is a brilliantly original contribution to the interpretation of the Tragedians; though other branches of literature have been considerably more precocious. But even those marvels of ingenuity, the Indian grammarians, do not adopt opposite views of the same rule in less than two consecutive sentences.

are by no means free from it, as the few scraps of tragic papyrus that have come to light have sufficiently warned us. *A manuscript is a necessary guide, but a most superfluous companion.*

Bentley says, somewhere, that if Cicero were to rise from the dead, and tell him that he had penned the words *Anaxagora haberet*, he, Bentley, would not believe him. In the event of such a doubly improbable contingency as the two tragic masters rising from the dead to claim the ungrammatical and unmetrical portions of their writings, I should not quarrel with them over the fair inheritance; but I should be unable to conceal my opinion that the Attic audience, in hearing them out, displayed a degree of leniency scarcely credible even in Müller-Strübing's protégés; and that sweetmeats must have been at famine prices during the Dionysiac Festival.*

Where then are we to find the remedy? The remedy is in the exquisite simplicity of these grand poets, who rarely conceal from us *their actual words*, when we ask them in the right way;

and in the epoch-making labours of Nauck and Blaydes.

And here the writer must close this portion of the *Studia Scenica*, waiting to produce another till he has heard the opinions of the learned on this first specimen of his labours; and especially those of the two Scholars on whose foundation he is attempting, with however inadequate learning and ability, to build.

* Aristot. Eth. Nic. x. v. 4.

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